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DIFFERENCES IN PRODUCTIVITY OF DOCTORATES IN SOCIOLOGY*

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This is a report of an inquiry into the productive habits of graduate Ph.D.'s in sociology. Speculation dealing with the supposed motivational factors affecting scholarly endeavor is found frequently in the literature,¹ but empirical research describing the actual productive careers of the individuals based upon a common point of departure is rare.²

Harvey C. Lehman has established that outstanding achievements are most often produced by individuals early in their productive careers. With numerous exceptions, the most productive years were found to be those falling into the 30-40 age category.³ However, he fails to equate the formal training of these individuals, and to trace the pattern of professional productivity from this common point of departure.

Within this frame of reference, the productive habits of scholars remain a twilight area in our empirical understanding of this aca-

* Paper read before the American Sociological Society, Seattle, Washington, 1958.

¹ C. Page Smith, "The Sins of Higher Education," *The Journal of Higher Education*, XXVI (January 1955), pp. 31-36, 58. Robert K. Merton, "Priorities in Scientific Discovery: A Chapter in the Sociology of Science," *American Sociological Review*, XXII (December 1957), p. 640. Lloyd S. Woodburne, *Faculty Personnel Policies in Higher Education* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956), p. 20-27. Bernard N. Meltzer, "The Productivity of Social Scientists," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (July 1949), pp. 25-29. Jerome G. Manis, "Some Academic Influences upon Publication Productivity," *Social Forces*, XXIX (March 1951), pp. 267-72.

² William L. Nicholls, II, "A Study to Determine Differences in the Publication of Significant Sociological Material Between the Alumni of American Graduate Departments of Sociology," Unpublished Honors thesis, Bucknell University, 1952.

³ Harvey C. Lehman, *Age and Achievement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953).

demic process. Lehman's work does lead to the assumption that maximum scholastic endeavor could be expected shortly after an individual has received his doctorate degree. Accordingly, the following hypothesis was tested: Individuals will publish more frequently in the years immediately following the acquisition of the Ph.D. degree than at any other time in their professional careers. Productivity is here defined operationally as any article appearing in a publication which is classified as a professional journal, and which is not generally read by persons outside of this field or related fields of interest.

Curiosity dictated that the book publication habits of a sample of doctorates of sociology also be traced; if only to discover whether the pattern of productivity is similar to that of article publication. Therefore, as a corollary, this second area of interest was explored.

METHODOLOGY

The data for this report are a part of a more extensive inquiry concerning the study of departments of sociology based upon the productivity of their graduates.⁴ The population for this inquiry was accumulated from two sources. The primary source was the *Directory of Members of the American Sociological Society*, August 1956, and second, the annual listings of doctorates in sociology as reported by the *American Journal of Sociology*. The total population of the study consisted of 1669 individuals who received their doctorates in sociology from 1936⁵ through 1956, and who obtained their degrees from departments of sociology located in American colleges or universities.

Three prestige journals in the field of sociology were chosen as a sample of the productivity of these sociologists. They were selected in reference to their prestige, and their wide coverage of the several interests of the discipline. Other journals of recognized high prestige were most often excluded because of their too recent inception or their representation of a specialized area of interest.

The journals chosen as presenting a representative sample of the scholarly productivity of sociologists were the *American Sociological*

⁴ The study is an attempt to determine the superiority of a college or university by measuring the productivity of its graduates. The productivity of the graduates is also compared with the size of the college or university attended, when size is defined as the average number of doctorates in sociology granted each year.

⁵ Because 1936 is the earliest year it was possible to get a reasonably complete list of graduating sociologists with their doctor's degree, it was chosen as the initial year in the selection of the population.

Review, the *American Journal of Sociology*, and *Social Forces*. It is assumed for the purposes of this study that (1) articles submitted to these journals for publication are judged by reputable members of the profession, (2) if the article is published, it can be assumed that at least a portion of the fraternity believe the standards of the discipline have been attained, and (3) that sociologists will first submit their most scholarly works to the "prestige" journals of the field.

In recording the contributions of these individuals a credit of one (1) was given for a single authorship or article. In the case of a dual authorship it was assumed that each person contributed equally to the contents of the publication, and each received credit for one half ($\frac{1}{2}$) article. No attempt was made to determine a senior author of a contribution or to adjust credit if the situation was known to exist. Articles with three or more authors were not utilized in this research. Credit was not recorded for book reviews or research notes, nor for an article published before the year the individual received his doctorate.

The sources used for determining book publication were two. They were (1) *The Cumulative Book Index*, and (2) the *Library of Congress Catalog of Printed Cards*. Dissertations, theses, revisions, or editorships were not included as book publication. The procedure used in the creditation of articles was also employed for books with the exception that only those individuals who had previously been found to have published in one of the three sample journals were included in this portion of the inquiry.

Because the doctorates of sociology comprising the population of the study received their degrees over an extended period of time, the term *Ph.D.-year* is used. It represents the number of years the individual has held the doctorate degree, and equates the available publication time of the members of the population. The maximum number of *Ph.D.-years* available to any one individual was twenty-one and the minimum was two.

THE FINDINGS

In order to test the hypothesis, all of the individuals in the original study who had published in one of the three sample journals and who had 11 or more *Ph.D.-years* available to them were extracted from the original population. Of the original 1669 sociologists, 74 individuals with eleven through fifteen *Ph.D.-years* available had published 193 articles, and 121 doctorates with sixteen or more *Ph.D.-years* available had published 347 articles.

The average *Ph.D.-years* available for each of these groups was

18.1 years for those individuals having more than 16 Ph.D.-years available, and 13.2 years for those having more than 11 but fewer than 16 Ph.D.-years of publication opportunity. This should be remembered when considering the results of these data.

The percentage of individuals publishing articles in any five-year period decreases dramatically as one moves further away from the year the doctorate degree was received. For those individuals having more than sixteen Ph.D.-years available, the percentage publishing fell from 73.6 percent during the first five years after receiving their doctorate to 21.5 percent publishing after the fifteenth year. For those with eleven through fifteen Ph.D.-years available, it dropped from 74.3 percent to 24.3 percent publishing.

Not only does the number of doctorates producing articles decrease over the years, but the volume of articles per year also decreases. Those individuals having more than sixteen Ph.D.-years available published 41.5 percent of the articles they were to publish during the first five years of their careers. After their sixteenth year of activity, they were only able to produce 8.6 percent of the total published. This finding seems to be borne out by the publishing habits of the younger group. Of the articles produced by this group, 53.9 percent were published within five years after receiving their doctorates while only 12.2 percent of the articles were produced after the eleventh available Ph.D.-year.

As the production of the doctorates as a group drops, the mean number of articles per individual per five year period also decreases. The mean articles per individual declines from 1.62 to 1.15 per individual publishing for those having sixteen or more Ph.D.-years available, and from 1.89 to 1.31 mean articles per individual publishing for those having eleven through fifteen Ph.D.-years available.

The findings should not be considered conclusive for the individuals of these groups. The group having sixteen or more Ph.D.-years available is still active as is the group having eleven through fifteen Ph.D.-years available, therefore, slight variations in these findings should occur. It is not likely, however, that any further publication will alter the basic structure of these results.

Considering the limitations of these data, it must be concluded that publication habits do vary with the length of time the individual has held the Ph.D. degree, and that the rate of publication decreases relative to the number of years the individual has been active in the field as a doctorate of sociology.

For the inquiry into the book publication habits of these indi-

viduals, the original sample of 195 sociologists was again utilized. Of the total sample, 103 or 52.8 percent of the individuals published 174 books between the years 1936 through 1956. The 65 individuals in the group having sixteen or more Ph.D.-years and who had published books averaged a productive period of 18.2 years. Thirty-eight individuals with eleven through fifteen Ph.D.-years available published books and had, on the average, 13.0 years of activity.

The individuals having sixteen or more Ph.D.-years available to them published in greater numbers during the third five-year period of their careers than at any other time. Contrasting this to the younger group, we find that this group produced most frequently during the second five-year period.

Two rationales may be used to explain the differences in publication rates of these groups. For the group who had sixteen or more Ph.D.-years available, it is suggested that World War II interfered with their normal academic endeavors. The second five-year period following their acquiring of the Ph.D. degree would have fallen during the war years. If this assumption is true, then their modal productivity should have fallen during the six through ten year interval, rather than the eleven through fifteen year period.

A second explanation of the discrepancy in the book publication habits of these groups is that the younger sociologist is devoting more of his early efforts toward book publication. It may be that the younger members of the discipline are today in a bigger hurry to command the attention of their peers. Whichever rationalization is accepted does not distract from the finding of a tendency for the sociologist to build up to a maximum book production early in his career and thereafter to taper off during his later years.

Not only does the number of scholars producing books tend to be maximized at early midcareer, but also the number of books being produced by these individuals indicates the same trend. Those individuals having sixteen or more Ph.D.-years available published the greater number of books during the third five-year period of their careers with the slump again being noted for the second five year interval. The younger group shows the greatest number of books being produced during the second five-year period.

As the production of books varies, the mean books produced per any five year period tends to show a rather consistent tendency to decrease. The group having eleven through fifteen Ph.D.-years available shows a decreasing individual mean productivity as time passes. This finding is complicated by the results noted for the older group. If, however, we accept the rationale that World War II affected this

group's productivity, the interchanging of the findings for the second and third five-year periods would cause this group to exhibit the same trend.

Again, slight variations can be expected in the findings presented for these groups relative to their continued activity. A further limitation of these findings is the possibility that several of the doctorates included in this study authored books who did not publish articles in the three sample journals.

Within the limitations of these data, it can be concluded that maximum publication of books tends to come at approximately five years later in the productive careers of sociologists than does maximum article productivity, and as with the publication of articles, book publication declines rapidly after the maximum has been reached.

DISCUSSION

The predominance of early publication activity may well indicate the presence of cultural norms within the institutional structure of science which supports this pattern of scholastic behavior. Support for this assumption is found within the writings of critics of the academic process. C. Page Smith maintains that pressure is exerted on young faculty members to publish promptly in order that they might attract favorable attention in their respective fields and thereby win quick promotion.⁶ There is a feeling by many academicians that you must "publish or perish" and the more you produce the better. Logan Wilson states that "Because of the yardstick test of the scholar's productiveness, a major research project or a lengthy piece of writing is often fractionalized for publication into as many separate articles as feasible, for the sake of adding yardage to the author's bibliography."⁷ Lloyd S. Woodburne seems to concur when he states "... until teaching ability can be determined with some clarity, the major rewards of rank and salary will continue to go to persons who add research papers to their bibliography with reasonable frequency."⁸ Within the findings of this study, it would seem logical to presume that as the institutional norms defining productivity become diffused, the need for publication as a means to further promotion or recognition declines.

As men assume positions of leadership and responsibility, the institutional norms supporting original research may be less demand-

⁶ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

⁷ Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man, A Study in the Sociology of a Profession* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1942), p. 198.

⁸ Woodburne, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

ing. Prestige accumulated by early publication possibly terminates in positions of authority, and because of the demands made upon the time of the individual, the institutional norms of science may effectively rationalize and sanction the decrease of original thought and research into the field.

If the inference of institutional norms surrounding early publication is correct, a college or university might seriously consider allowing released time from classroom and extracurricular duties for their younger faculty to do research. If the field of sociology is to continue its advance into the recognized fields of specialization, it will be supported by new developments in the field. From the findings of these data, it would seem apparent that it is the younger members of the profession who are contributing the major portion of research. This may suggest to some that they should be installed in a situation conducive to high productivity.

CONCLUSIONS

The data of this study support the hypothesis of difference in the rate of productivity of the graduates in sociology in relation to the length of time they have held the Ph.D. degree. It was found that the likelihood of article publication by an individual was three out of four during the first five years after receiving the Ph.D. degree. After having held the doctorate degree for sixteen years, the likelihood of publishing had diminished to about one out of five.

Maximum book publication was found to occur at approximately five years later in the career of the individual than does maximum article productivity. A rapid falling off in book publication, relative to the number of years the individual has held the Ph.D. degree, was discovered soon after the maximum was reached.

It is suggested that norms operate within the institutional structure of scientific endeavor which support early academic activity, and which in turn rationalize retarded productivity relative to institutionally defined patterns of achievement and responsibility.

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A STUDY OF ATTITUDES IN THE ELEMENTARY GRADES

Sister Josephina, C.S.J.

Present-day psychological literature discloses a needed emphasis on a holistic view of the individual, particularly the child in the elementary grades. Since it is not only his brain which affects his behavior but all facets of his growth—physical, emotional and social—the pupil, a complex macrocosm, demands on-going study by teachers, psychologists and parents. Fear, anxiety and hatred and the converse—courage, relaxation and love—know no grade level boundaries. The fourth grader experiences the above characteristics to a somewhat less degree as does the college student.

Recognizing that only in a warm, friendly and understanding atmosphere can true learning grow, teachers should strive to create with the pedagogical artistry characteristic of an effective leader, a learning climate where a positive attitude toward children prevails. An attitudinal orientation is concomitant with a working philosophy of education wherein the child is regarded as unique, yet, possessing the qualities of all human beings.

Improvement in basic human relations starts in the home, is carried over to the school, both of which claim much of the elementary pupil's time. Concentrating on the effects of an insight into pupil behavior, teachers must recognize the part that attitudes play in the day by day learning. Some schools emphasize the attitudinal growth of pupils by providing guidance services whereby with trained personnel the pupil will be given help to see and evaluate himself. Again, the new-type appraisal form, substituted for the traditional type report card with its list of symbols given only to academic performance, has impressed parents, teachers and most important, pupils that other facets of his growth are important enough to be evaluated. The measuring of his abilities against his performance provided by grouping, advanced work, enrichment, etc., gives the pupil a better assessment of himself. That schools show growth in the aforementioned data is to be acknowledged.

However, growth is specific to an individual, at a certain time, in a particular place. Since a school is as good as are its teachers, this paper is concerned with the attitudinal thinking of nine hundred elementary school pupils in grades five through eight. In the evaluative process, standardized tests hold a major place. Yet, in attitude measurement, a large discrepancy in the use of such instruments is noted. Effective teachers bridge the gap by the profitable construction of informal questionnaires, rating scales, and similar data which depict

and delineate kinds of information useful for a better understanding of their pupils.

Attitudes are certain tendencies for or against people, things, concepts and phenomena that make up a child's life (2:24). The self as it evolves is a composite of thoughts and feelings constituting his awareness of his existence and of those around him. The self is acquired and is characterized by an attitudinal component, among other components. His feelings toward himself, his background, his present status, his success and/or failure figure significantly in an appraisal of self. Guidance services have repeatedly emphasized the need of self-understanding before any psychological development be analyzed. Such is the task of the teacher: to help pupils appraise their feelings and attitudes in a more realistic manner.

Whenever and wherever pupils meet and mingle, attitudes are born, nurtured, or die because man is a social being having an affective life as well as a cognitive one. The school environment, then, is the breeding ground for both positive and negative attitude growth. If the outstanding attitudes of the world around the pupil have been hostile, unfriendly, dissatisfied, he will view his environment in a similar manner. Many pupils exhibit covert attitudes developing strategies and mechanisms needed for self-protection.

The writer was fortunate to secure permission for the use of a scale (1) which Tenenbaum constructed to examine the attitudes of pupils in grades 6 and 7 of three elementary schools in New York City. Without any change in the scale, nine hundred pupils in grade 5 through 8 in nine parochial schools were administered the scale. The pupils were told that the information was needed by the teacher and no names were signed on the *School Attitude Questionnaire* (1). The chronological age, grade, sex, and I.Q. (Otis) were recorded for each pupil. From the *School Attitude Questionnaire* only four items have been selected for an analysis in this study. Pupils were asked to state their response to

1. I like my present teacher
 - a. very much
 - b. a lot
 - c. pretty much
 - d. don't like her
 - e. hate her
 - f. no response
2. My best liked subject is _____
3. My least liked subject is _____
4. I like school _____
or I do not like school _____

The nine hundred pupils conformed to a normal distribution of intelligence. Data from the Otis Intelligence Test are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

MEAN, STANDARD DEVIATION AND STANDARD ERROR OF
THE MEAN OF INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENTS FOR PUPILS
IN GRADES 5, 6, 7, AND 8

Grade	N	Mean	S.D.	S. E. _m
5	233	104.9	13.9	.92
6	227	103.0	15.6	1.05
7	230	104.0	14.9	.99
8	210	99.7	14.1	1.00
TOTAL	900	103.0	15.4	.51

In the present study, the teachers were religious women. Pupils were asked to evaluate their present teacher. Table 2 presents the per cent of replies to the item.

TABLE 2

PER CENT OF REPLIES TO ITEM ASKING ABOUT THEIR LIKE
OR DISLIKE OF PRESENT TEACHER

I like the teacher I have now	GRADE							
	5		6		7		8	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
a. very much	74.0	87.0	45.0	63.0	53.0	67.8	43.0	59.0
b. a lot	16.0	9.0	18.0	26.0	29.8	22.0	25.9	22.6
c. pretty much	8.0	1.8	31.0	8.4	15.0	8.9	26.9	14.0
d. don't like her	.8	1.8	3.3	1.8	2.5	0.0	3.8	3.7
e. hate her	.9	0.0	1.0	0.0	.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
f. no response	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	.8	0.0	0.0

It will be noted from the per cents in Table 2 that girls showed a larger per cent than the boys in each grade for "I like my teacher very much." Studying the per cent of response for "hate her" the boys in grades 5, 6 and 7 present rather small findings while the girls evinced no response to this item. The per cent of replies to "I like my teacher a lot" increased with grade level for both sexes. The grade level where the largest per cent of both boys and girls "do not like their teacher" appeared to be grade 8. In the over-all per cents of responses it is to be noted that boys in all the grades tend to be more moderate in the degree of expressing their likes.

The "best liked" subject has been studied by many researchers. In the present study the pupils were asked to name their "best" and "least" liked school subject. All pupils were exposed to the same

curriculum. It is in the area of subject preference that the personality of the teacher comes into sharp focus. Her knowledge of the subject and use of the techniques in presenting it have a significant influence upon the pupils' liking or disliking a specific learning. Therefore, her enthusiasm or indifference for, and the excellent or poor presentation of the daily lesson will transfer in no small measure in building negative or positive attitudes toward a subject. Likewise, the success or failure in a learning situation will bear weight in forming pupil attitude for that subject.

Table 3 shows the percentage of replies by grade level for the "best liked" and "least liked" subject.

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE OF REPLIES TO "BEST" AND "LEAST LIKED"
SUBJECT

Subject	GRADE							
	5		6		7		8	
	N = 333		N = 227		N = 230		N = 210	
	Best	Least	Best	Least	Best	Least	Best	Least
Arithmetic	18.0	27.0	16.7	26.0	16.5	21.8	24.0	19.5
English	.3	18.0	4.5	21.0	2.7	20.8	6.0	31.4
Geography	7.8	13.0	3.6	17.0	12.6	10.4	3.3	5.0
History	16.8	10.0	17.6	18.0	22.7	13.0	11.4	19.0
Religion	5.7	2.0	5.7	2.0	11.4	0.0	10.5	0.0
Spelling	36.0	8.0	35.6	3.9	25.6	6.9	16.0	6.6
Penmanship	0.0	.4	0.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Art	6.0	.4	8.4	.8	.4	.4	4.8	0.0
Music	0.0	5.0	0.0	1.7	0.0	3.0	0.0	1.4
Reading	9.0	.4	5.0	1.0	5.7	.8	3.8	.4
Foreign Lang.	0.0	5.0	0.0	.8	0.0	5.6	0.0	1.3
Science	0.0	0.0	2.6	2.6	2.0	.4	20.0	3.0
No Subject	0.0	10.0	0.0	3.0	0.0	10.4	0.0	11.4

Selecting the three "best liked" subjects for all grades, a pattern emerged consisting of spelling, arithmetic, and history. One exception appeared in grade 8 where science was ranked in the second place, and history in the fourth. Again, the small percentage selecting English as their "best liked" subject poses some study. Only suppositions are given here. Is it because of the monotony of drill inherent in the mastery of grammar, technicalities, correct usage? The creative aspects, literary appreciation and dramatic potentialities appear to have lost importance in the thinking of these pupils or possibly in teacher presentation.

Looking at the "least liked" column, one notes that arithmetic and English hold the first two rank positions. As mentioned previ-

ously, the element of drill and progressive difficulty connected with English and arithmetic may be the underlying cause. Research investigation is needed in these areas.

The pupils were asked if they liked or disliked school. The data shown in Table 4 indicate a favorable attitude toward school as evidenced by the percentage of boys and girls in all grades liking school.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF REPLIES TO ITEMS "I LIKE SCHOOL" AND
"I DO NOT LIKE SCHOOL" BY GRADE AND SEX

Item	5		6		7		8	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Like School	82.0	88.0	70.0	80.0	82.0	94.6	65.0	83.0
Do Not Like School	15.0	11.0	29.0	19.0	17.7	5.3	33.3	16.9
No Reply	2.0	.9	.9	1.0	0.0	0.0	.9	0.0

It is significant to note that the girls exceeded the boys by a higher percentage in "Liking School" and conversely presented a lower percentage for the item calling for their reply to "Do Not Like School."

The study, limited in nature provided areas for analysis whereby teachers can study and reexamine themselves personality-wise, their techniques, the total climate of the classroom in order to eliminate or lessen unfavorable attitudes. Likewise, too, a rewarding experience presents itself when teachers realize that the majority of their pupils like them as a person and show interest in and a warmth toward subject matter learning. Noting the negative as well as the positive comments present data for a pedagogical attitude examen from time to time.

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IGNORANCE AND THE TEACHER'S SITUATION*

G. B. Sharp

It is common knowledge that teachers frequently see academic attainment as primarily determined by intelligence, while the way a child conducts himself in the class-room is often summed up in such terms as whether he "tries" or whether he is "attentive." The knowledge the teacher gains in the class-room and school situation appears to be the main source of these notions; if they frequently serve to limit understanding of behaviour then it may well be profitable to seek the reasons for their persistence in the nature of their source. We intend to point to this source in the structure of the teacher's situation and to suggest that in tending to form a definite system of ideas about children, this situation also tends to prevent the development of those ideas in more realistic directions.

1. *The Teacher's Viewpoint*

The teacher's viewpoint can best be brought out by illustration. Recently we called on the headmaster at a State Primary School. He mentioned the case of John C. in the third. "He doesn't seem to be able to learn at all, he's not even at second grade level." Tapping his head he added: "He doesn't seem to have anything up top at all. I'm wondering if we mightn't transfer him to the Opportunity Grade at Brown Street." After some discussion with John we concluded that he had an average amount "up top" but lacked confidence to an extent which stopped him trying many tasks within his present range. According to John, his mother brought him to school in the mornings, sat outside the grounds with him until school went in, and picked him up afterwards; she dressed him in the morning and treated him in a way seldom found even among six-year olds. The headmaster however, knew nothing of this. Nor could he reasonably have been expected to know. He knew the curriculum, knew John's performance and that of other children, and rightly concluded that he lacked something they had. He thought the lack must be "up top." Another teacher told us about one of her boys who couldn't manage his work because of poor intelligence. We talked to the child, found that the home was in constant turmoil, the father often drunk and accustomed totally to ignore the children. The boy himself seemed

*This brief discussion forms part of a larger study of delinquent behaviour.

to be considerably upset by this. The teacher was very interested in our view that he was not lacking in intelligence, and in our outline of the home situation. After some discussion she commented "but even if he is emotionally upset, do you really think that would affect his school work?"

In neither of these cases did the teachers complain about the child's behaviour. They believed the children were trying to learn, observed their failure and imputed that failure to lack of intelligence. In neither case did they refer to the different social conditions which might be connected with the children's performance. In fact, the teacher usually does not see these conditions because he is cut off from them and this, of course, restricts his reference to them when he tries to explain the widespread differences in learning achievement. His explanations can only refer to what he does know. Since his observation is mainly limited to the immediate learning situation where all children are engaged on the one activity, he can refer to two main areas: the actual learning achievement and the degree of fulfillment of conditions for this achievement such as "trying," "behaving" or "paying attention." The children are seen as differing in degree in the *same qualities* and these are qualities demanded by the situation. But the teacher is cut off from the conditions shaping the child's approach to learning. Being unable to see these conditions he imputes the level and the degree of fulfillment of the conditions of achievement to qualities within the children. Being unable to change the conditions shaping these qualities he assumes them to be more or less static, and especially in the case of intelligence, not much affected by social conditions.

Differences can be of two types, quantitative and qualitative and the impact of the teacher's situation leads him to generalize behaviour in terms of quantitative differences. At least superficially the source of either type of difference may be sought environmentally or as in some sense given in the child. The teacher's severance from the child's other social relationships, turns him towards seeking differences in the "nature" of the child while his assessment in terms of the conditions of quantitative performance turns him towards expressing "natural" differences quantitatively.

2. *The Twofold Constriction of the Teacher's View*

Teachers, just like people choosing other occupations, know a great deal about their work but *our main proposition is that the very nature of the teacher's function blocks out his grasp of some relations of the behaviour of children.* If these particular relations should

be fundamental to any adequate explanation of the children's activity then the teacher is committed to explanations which are basically inadequate. Consequently, we need to examine the constriction of the teacher's view in more detail than hitherto. The blocking of the teacher's view of the child's formative conditions is located in two main spheres: the relation of the school to outside conditions and the internal structure of the school itself.

The general framework of external conditions is that of urban industrialism; as a consequence the tendency is for the school to serve and to draw on an aggregate rather than a community and the children enter it as aggregates of relatively detached people. If there are ties among the people then these are not deep rooted at the level of the locality, if the children have roots in specific types of family structure then the teacher cannot know those roots. Nor can he know the details of the working lives of the family members or the leisure patterns, voluntary memberships and social outlooks implicating them in the broader relations of the social structure.

The teacher usually does not live in the locality and, if he did, the limited links among the families would restrict his information just as now it restricts what he can learn of one child from others. The very nature of the external relation of the schools tends to present the child to the teacher as detached, anonymous, and simply a flat member of an aggregate. To understand behaviour the teacher is drawn to look "into" the child and, as we have noted, to regard it as inherent rather than a product of those social relations which tend to be cut off from his view.

In the rural situation and even in the quite large country town all this is different. The teacher can know the total relations of the children because information on these matters flows around the informal net-works of information characteristic of community life as contrasted with the relatively massed and locally anonymous urban population.

But the children in the city know the relation between home and school because they live it. Perhaps they spend more of their waking hours at school but home is the stronger bond and so for each child school and teacher can only operate within the framework which the home allows. If the parents view life as a matter of social standing, and the occupational structure as a series of steps contributing more or less standing they may push the education of the child differently to parents with other outlooks. If the father regards a trade as the most satisfactory work and clerks as "pen pushers" and businessmen as "not having to work" then the child is likely to

reject these occupations. If then the child and his parents see English and Science as irrelevant to their role in the more general relations of life, then the school can do little to change that; they are part of those externally based stresses to the expression of which, inside the school, the staff must accommodate themselves.

Thus the blocking out of the external relations of children from the teacher involves more than general failure to see that the family influences the educational process. The families break down into types and provide the roots of group differences among the children. But not being in a position to see this the teacher sees individual children as determined solely by inherent traits.

When we turn to the internal relations of the school and consider the class-room setting, the teacher is already pre-conditioned by the external relation to see the child as an individual and that alone. But he is not only blocked from seeing the external relation of the individuality of each child, but also from seeing the social basis of the child's individuality in his relation to his own school friends.

The teacher's main task is to carry the children through the curriculum. Consequently his evaluation of each child is centered on his activity relative to this curriculum (especially effort). In other words the point of the teacher's attention is on what the *child* does as an individual performer relative to the curriculum. Seeing him as a single unit it is not surprising that the teacher should look to his individual attitudes and to his capacities, as the basis of his performance and that he should fail to see the relations of the child to his friends. Any such tendency is reinforced by the fact that the teacher aims to cut down to a minimum the explicit relations of the boys themselves. To the extent that he is successful he creates the conditions for his own ignorance of the friendly groupings into which the children fall and of the relations connecting these groups.

Ignorance then of important aspects of the structure of the school is generated by the very nature of that structure. If the relations among the children decisively affect the relation to the teacher then ignorance of that fact means that the teacher cannot get any clear understanding of why he acts as he does nor can he properly grasp the implications for the children of the way he handles his class. To some extent this is a functional ignorance. Without it the teacher might see more clearly how he is the agent of a system which ensures the futility of his own efforts with some types of children. For the individual this raises disturbing questions about the meaning of what he is doing. Of course it also holds the seed of these questions being raised more generally and leading on to changes where a heightened

understanding by teachers of the social conditions of their work is coupled with alteration of some of those conditions. The ignorance is 'functional' relative to the stability of a given level or organization.

It seems that the basic structure of the internal situation induces teachers to generalize about children as if they were purely isolated individuals. The most important secondary factor aggravating this tendency is the size of school classes. When a teacher is confronted by a class of 50 children the opportunity to know each one is obviously limited. Nor is it simply a question of numbers; as the size increases so do problems of control and as discipline becomes sharper so conditions of the teacher's ignorance are enhanced. In schools where the teacher circulates from class to class meeting perhaps 300 children it becomes almost ludicrous to speak in terms of the teacher's knowledge of the social circumstances of his pupils.

3. *The Education System and Resistance to Change*

In developing our argument to this point we have been mainly concerned with the way in which the structure of the teacher's social situation presses him towards an individualized view of the class-room where children are seen as differing in degree in their abilities and traits. It is interesting to note that one of the main movements tending to fracture this attitude arose outside the field of education. In fact, twenty years ago the results of the "Moreno" movement came as a surprise to most teachers. Of course they recognized that children did have friends—but not in class. But clear evidence that friendship groups formed according to school class and that membership affected school performance could not be ignored by the small body of people familiar with it.

This familiarity led to efforts in two main directions—both tend to break down through conflict with the structure of the system as a whole. First there has been the effort to turn the voluntary groupings of children into a constructive part of the educative process. Group methods of work were an obvious outcome but these had to face their test through an examination system intended to test a somewhat itemized knowledge of a clear and definite syllabus. If the group system should produce superior results it is hardly surprising that a form of examining linked to a different teaching system should fail to reflect that. Since the basis of the teacher's "mark" and hence of his promotion is tied to his results as measured by orthodox examinations it is clear that the system tends to conservatism. The constant pressure towards orthodoxy in curricula and methods of imparting them tends to destroy any originality which might tend to

alter or render less universal the clear-cut measuring standards followed by the inspectors. They have the definite function of co-ordinating judgments and guaranteeing "fair and equal" treatment; as the by-product of their assessment method they tend to choke positive developments since these characteristically emerge as deviations from normal procedure.

A second and still strong trend is for teachers to point to the bad effects of not being in a group. Frequently this takes the form of giving considerable attention to isolation and rejection. However, these are group phenomena and unless related to the group structure of a whole class can only be interpreted in individualized terms. Unfortunately this overall grasp is rare and there is little positive concern with the way in which the voluntary groupings in the classroom activity affect the educative process. It is as though the existence of groups is conceded and being in one is agreed to be "normal" and a necessary condition for learning, while being isolated or rejected is seen as "abnormal." Under these conditions the old individualised approach to teaching can continue; it is as if knowledge of "groupings" is taken into account to the extent that it provides a more sophisticated account of exceptions. Fundamentally, one can continue to regard the rest of the class as before.

This situation has to continue as long as teachers see children purely as individuals who can or cannot make friends. Until it is seen that this same capacity is socially formed and they themselves and the structure of the school control many of the conditions for the formation of groups, these remain passive things. In these brief comments we do not intend to more than indicate that the main block to this mode of understanding behaviour lies in the very nature of concept formation induced by the teaching situation. Resistance to ideas of changing the education system along lines directed by scientific findings tends to be built into the very way the teacher sees his work and that sight springs from the social organisation of his working activity.

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THE PHOENIX YOUTH STUDY PROPOSAL FOR DELINQUENCY REDUCTION

Russell N. Cassel

This article is concerned with describing a proposed program for the initial purpose of identifying certain critical characteristic patterns of psychological test scores which discern reliably between delinquent (atypical) and non-delinquent (typical) youth (ages 13 to 18); and with the further purpose of developing an experimental school-community action program designed to minimize those characteristics most significant of the atypical individuals, and to maximize the qualifications indicative of typical youth.

GROUP COMPARISONS SOUGHT

Experimental Groups

Delinquent Youth in Correctional Institutions. This group is to be made up of approximately 200 youth, of mixed sex about equally divided, between the ages of 13 to 18, limited to persons with a fifth grade reading level or better, but otherwise selected at random from the current students committed to the state and state supported correctional institutions (Ft. Grant for boys, and Convent of Good Shepherd for girls).

Delinquency Prone Youth-Citizenship Type. This group is to be made up of approximately 200 youth, of mixed sex about equally divided, between the ages of 13 to 18, limited to persons with a fifth grade reading level or better, but otherwise selected at random from persons being suspended from school attendance for accruing excessive citizenship demerits (non-compliance of school rules, viz. repeated tardiness, smoking on campus, "cutting" or "ditching" school without a legitimate excuse, etc.) on two or more occasions, and for periods of five school days or more during the current school year, from the Phoenix Union High School (PUHS).

Delinquency Prone Youth-Scholarship Type. This group is to be made up of approximately 200 youth, of mixed sex about equally divided, between the ages of 13 to 18, and selected at random from certain of the seven high schools in Phoenix from those individuals who have the following 9th grade guidance test scores and school success records: (1) average or better intellectual capability (a stanine of 5 or better on the California Test of Mental Maturity (CTMM) in comparison to Phoenix 9th grade students), (2) aver-

age or better in terms of educational experiences (a stanine of 5 or better on the Iowa Test of Educational Development (ITED)—administered during first week of school in 9th grade), and (3) who have failed two or more courses (solid subjects, English, arithmetic, general science, etc.) during the 9th grade school year.

Control Group

Typical Youth. This group is to be made up of approximately 200 youth, of mixed sex about equally divided, between the ages of 13 to 18, with fifth grade reading level or better, but otherwise selected at random from certain of the seven high schools in Phoenix, and with members of the three referenced atypical groups eliminated.

THE DELINQUENCY CONCEPT

For purpose of this report, "delinquency" is defined as behavior of individuals from 10 through 18 years of age that is in conflict with the law, whether or not it has brought the child to the attention of the police or the courts. It is not necessarily presumed to be a rational process, but always a psychological one, often, involving unconscious motivation; and often having its onset in early childhood. Always, delinquency (or delinquent behavior) is directed at the satisfaction of active needs in the respective individual (physical, emotional, psycho-sexual, intellectual, social, or educational), and usually this is the sole purpose which the individual has for engaging in such behavior.

Etiology or Genesis

No one is presumed to have been born a delinquent (the notion of a constitutional psychopath is considered to be obsolete), but a child is believed to have learned the delinquent behavior much as he or she learns other modes of behavior. When one or more of the referenced basic need areas attain "need status," a stress condition emerges concurrent with the need status and in a similar and parallel degree. As an individual engages in the every-day-drama of life it is as natural as breathing to make continuous efforts to free or eliminate emerging stress; always, negotiating on the basis of self ability and previous experience to accomplish this objective.

For the initial offender, often the delinquent act is arrived at quite by accident, and sometimes it represents the first real and effective reduction in personal stress which he has experienced. Usually, whether or not he repeats the delinquent behavior, is determined largely by whether or not he is able to experience equally or more effective means for the reduction of the emerging stress; and, some-

times whether or not the stigma or status from the initial experience is subordinated sufficiently to allow him freedom for other areas of exploration for the reduction of his tension and stress. Always, the action and behavior which bring an individual satisfactions over a period of years during both the early and later childhood determines the type of person one will be.

Moment of Problem

During the last two decades there has been a rapidly growing tide of juvenile delinquency throughout our country; so that today it is a top priority social problem. Approximately, 1 out of every 5 boys have a delinquency record before they are 18 years of age; with about five times as many boys as girls being involved, in the United States. The rate of delinquency is considerably higher among the underprivileged and minority groups, with about 1 out of 2 male individuals coming before the juvenile court before the age of 18. The recitivism rate is considerably higher for those individuals who are committed to our correctional institutions before the age of 12, and it is from 10 to 15% higher for minority group members than for others. For all youth ages 10 through 18 committed to correctional institutions, the recitivism rate is about 50 percent.

HISTORY OF PROPOSAL

The origin of the present proposal stems largely from two sources: (1) delinquency prevention programs, and (2) the development of delinquency proneness prediction tests.

Delinquency Prevention Programs

Arizona communities have borrowed heavily from most of the noted studies in the delinquency area. Many aspects of both the school and community programs can be readily traced to the following eminent studies: (1) the Chicago area project by Clifford Shaw (self-help emphasis), (2) the Cincinnati area project by Ellery Reed (group work agencies emphasized), (3) the continuous country-wide project emphasizing adequate recreational facilities, (4) the New York area project by Frederic Thrasher (boy's clubs emphasized), (5) the Cambridge-Summerville youth study by Richard Cabot (adult friends as counselors emphasized), (6) the Judge Baker Guidance Center by William Healy (child guidance clinics emphasized), (7) the Passaic Children's Bureau by William Kvaraceus (combining school and police facilities emphasized), (8) the St. Paul Child Welfare study by Sybil Stone (psychiatric teams emphasized), (9) the New York City program (youth boards emphasized), and (10)

the delinquency proneness prediction work by the Gluecks (discerning qualifications of delinquents emphasized).

Development of Delinquency Proneness Prediction Tests

Beginning in the early 50's a group of task scientists some of whom were affiliated with The Society of Correctional Psychologists made an effort to coordinate and integrate their studies relative to the development of psychological tests for the identification of delinquency prone individuals. The tests proposed for this study are largely the result of this effort.

PROPOSED TESTS

Six different areas have yielded psychological tests with statistically significant coefficients of status validity for discerning between atypical (delinquent) and typical (non-delinquent) individuals.

Impoverished Home and Family Life

The Life Experience Inventory by G. Betts and R. Cassel, and published by C. A. Gregory Company, Cincinnati, Ohio is proposed for this area. The earlier editions of this test were published and developed by Dr. Betts while he was with the U. S. Army during World War II. The content of the test is based largely on the critical characteristics of delinquent youth and their experiences as contained in the records for more than 500 such individuals. It is designed to assess the degree of impoverishment or enrichment of home and family experiences, and in terms of those experiences which are most conspicuous in the records of the delinquent.

Personality Tension and Needs

The Group Personality Projective Test by R. Cassell and T. Kahn, and published by Psychological Test Specialists, Missoula, Montana is proposed for this area. The early work on this test was accomplished by Dr. Kahn in connection with his work as a Clinical Psychologist in the United States Air Force. The 90 stick figure drawings which form the items on the test are quasi structured and through the multiple choice answers afford an opportunity for the individual to reveal anxiety or stress areas present in their personality for the time of the test.

Irreality Level and Level of Aspiration

The Cassel Group Level of Aspiration Test by R. Cassel and published by Western Psychological Services, Los Angeles, California is proposed for this area. Scores on the test purport to assess the disparity between the real and perceived worlds of the subject, and

to determine the presence of atypical type responses in the test protocol.

Social Insight

The Social Insight Test by R. Cassel (youth-high school, and adult-college editions) and published by Martin Bruce, New Rochelle, New York, is proposed for this area. Scores on the test are indicative of the characteristic mode which an individual uses in adapting to social situations and social problems in one's group membership.

Leadership Insight

The Leadership Ability Test by R. Cassel and E. Stancik (1), still in experimental form, is proposed for this area. Scores on the test purport to determine the characteristic mode which an individual uses in imposing his will on others within the group membership, i.e., autocratic aggressive-ego centered decisions, autocratic-submissive-expert centered, cooperative-parliamentary procedure centered, or laissez faire-individual centered.

Ego Strength

The Ego Strength Q-Sort Test by R. Cassel and published by Psychometric Affiliates, Chicago, Illinois is proposed for this area. The total score on this test is indicative of the strength which an individual currently possesses to deal with self problems, and the part scores purport to manifest areas of importance with respect to one's own happiness.

DELINQUENCY REDUCTION PROGRAM

Comparisons Between Typical and Atypical Groups

Subsequent to the administration of referenced psychological tests a comparative analysis will be made between and among the part and total scores for the groups involved. Those attributes (as measured by the various test scores) which are most characteristic of the delinquent groups or the atypical youth will be minimized in a systematically organized experimental program for implementation in the schools, community, and correctional institutions; while those attributes most characteristic of the typical groups will be maximized in the program.

Comparisons Between First Offender and Recivist Groups

Continuing follow-up studies are to be made as a means of determining the attributes of those individuals who appear to make satisfactory adjustment to the social group membership following training in the various correctional programs within the state. Also, comparisons may be made between individuals who appear before the juvenile

court who are committed to correctional institutions and those placed on probation with a view toward identifying the attributes of individuals having a high recivist rate in either case. Correctional programs of an experimental nature are to be developed which maximize the attributes of the successful individuals, and minimize the attributes of the group with recivist tendencies.

SUMMARY

The proposed program is designed for purpose of identifying certain critical characteristic patterns of behavior as measured by psychological test scores which discern reliably between delinquent (atypical) and non-delinquent (typical) individuals between the ages of 13 through 18 years old in the Phoenix, Arizona area. Also, between the delinquent who adjusts adequately to the community and the delinquent who is repeatedly apprehended, or who has an ineffective probation record.

An experimental program is to be developed for implementation through the school, community, and correctional institutions which maximize those attributes characteristic of the typical individuals and those with fairly successful adjustment following probation and parole experiences; and minimize the attributes of the atypical individuals and those with unsuccessful probation and parole records.

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GROUP SIZE AS A FACTOR IN SUCCESS OF ACADEMIC DISCUSSION GROUPS

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This paper reports a study of the effects of group size upon satisfaction and scholastic achievement of academic discussion groups. It is an attempt to apply to an academic setting an area of social research which may have important consequences for educational administration.

Sociologists and social psychologists have developed a growing body of data concerning the effects of size upon small groups.¹ Among some of the more interesting of various findings are that idea productivity appears to vary inversely with size;² that groups of four are slower on concrete problems than groups of two, but faster on abstract problems;³ that consensus, interaction and satisfaction are all higher in groups of five persons than in those of twelve;⁴ that accuracy in decision-making is better in groups of six than in those of two or three persons,⁵ and that member satisfaction is greater for groups of five persons than for either larger or smaller groups.⁶

At first glance these studies may seem directly applicable to problems of educational administration—especially those involving discussion-type classes. However, there are several considerations which

¹For a recent survey of the literature on this problem see Robert F. Bales, A. Paul Hare and Edgar F. Borgatta, "Structure and Dynamics of Small Groups: A Review of Four Variables," in Joseph B. Gittler (ed.), *Review of Sociology: Analysis of a Decade* (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1957), especially pp. 394-402. See also Harold H. Kelley and John W. Thibaut, "Experimental Studies of Group Problem Solving and Process," in Gardner Lindsey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass., Addison-Wesley, 1954) V. II, especially 761-762.

²J. R. Gibb, "The Effects of Group Size and Threat Reduction upon Creativity in a Problem-Solving Situation," *American Psychologist* (1951), 6:324 (abstract).

³D. W. Taylor and W. L. Faust, "Twenty Questions: Efficiency in Problem Solving as a Function of Size of Group," *Journal of Experimental Psychology* (1952), 44:360-68.

⁴A. P. Hare, "A Study of Interaction and Consensus in Different Sized Groups," *American Sociological Review* (1952), 17:261-67.

⁵R. C. Ziller, "Group Size: A Determinant of the Quality and Stability of Group Decisions," *Sociometry* (1957), 20:165-73.

⁶Philip Slater, "Contrasting Correlates of Group Size," *Sociometry* (1958), 21:129-39.

make such direct applications hazardous. First, the studies in the literature on the effects of group size are nearly all those of specially-created and temporary groups. This minimizes certain forms of prior expectations on the part of students and teachers which are often of central significance in the culture of the classroom. More specifically, such studies typically refrain from imposing any leadership structure or pattern of interaction upon the group, for the observer is usually interested in the forms which will evolve "naturally." In the classroom, on the contrary, the teacher usually makes a most deliberate and thorough attempt to control the situation of interaction. Finally, the criteria of satisfaction or success may be quite different in the classroom from those of artificially-created groups. These considerations all underline the importance of studies which may deal directly with academic settings if the results are to be considered relevant for educational application.

STUDY PROCEDURES

The present study was designed to discover whether there is any relationship between the size of discussion group and measures of student satisfaction, instructor satisfaction, and student achievement. To achieve this 32 discussion groups in Western Civilization at the University of Kansas were set up as experimental groups during the fall semester, 1958-59. The Western Civilization Program at the University of Kansas is a general education requirement for undergraduates in liberal arts, education, and journalism. The reading materials are selected to represent the ideas of leading thinkers concerning the civilization of the past five centuries (Machiavelli, More, Luther, Locke, Voltaire, Mill, Marx, Mussolini and Dewey are among the perennial authors used) and to challenge the student to think about central issues of modern civilization. Self-responsibility on the part of the student is emphasized, and the only classroom instruction is in the form of small weekly discussion groups.

Each of four participating instructors⁷ was given two groups of each of the following original number of students: four, six, eight, and ten. Care was taken to keep the groups at the original sizes throughout the semester, although additions and withdrawals were necessary in some cases. In the results reported below group size is figured as the actual size at mid-semester, which in no case differed by more than one from the originally scheduled size.

⁷ Instructors of groups used as experimental groups were William Cozort, Jack Gibson, Bruce Hood and Mark Plummer. The writer is indebted to these instructors for help in both planning and carrying out the study.

Groups were scheduled in such a manner that effects of the day of the week or time of day would be minimized. Students involved were all sophomores in the College of Liberal Arts, enrolled for the first time in "Western Civ" and assigned by random to their particular discussion group.

At the last meeting of the semester each of the experimental groups was given a questionnaire which each member was to fill out anonymously. Completed questionnaires were thus obtained from 95 per cent of the students enrolled in the experimental groups. The questionnaire included the following questions:

1. In general, how satisfied have you been with this semester's discussion group?
2. How satisfied are you that you have been able to express yourself freely and fully in your group discussions?
3. How satisfied are you that your group has adequately covered the main points in each week's readings?

For convenience in the following discussion the results of these questions will be referred to as reflecting criteria of "general satisfaction," "freedom of expression," and "content coverage" respectively.

To answer each question students checked the appropriate response of a nine-item scale which ranged from "extremely satisfied" to "extremely dissatisfied." In scoring, the scale was treated as an equal-interval scale with weights given to the responses ranging from 1 to 9. For each group the mean score was obtained to represent the degree of satisfaction for the group as a whole.

Instructors were asked corresponding questions concerning their groups (e.g., "How satisfied are you that the students of this group have been able to express themselves freely and fully in the group discussions?"), and instructor questionnaires were scored in the same manner as were those of students.

To allow a rough measure of academic achievement, semester grades were recorded for all students, and grades for an essay hour exam given during the seventh meeting of the semester were also noted. Scores on the American Council on Education Psychological Test were also available in all but a few cases, and these were used to check the assumption that the experimental design successfully randomized the factor of initial ability.

RESULTS

Student Satisfaction. Before conducting the study it was considered likely that the optimum group size would be somewhere between

four and ten. However, nearly all the results which showed a systematic pattern appeared to vary inversely with group size. Therefore the results may be presented in the form of linear correlations.⁸ Product-moment correlations between group size and criteria of student satisfaction (based on the mean satisfaction score for the group) were as follows:

<i>Criterion of Student Satisfaction</i>	<i>Correlation with Group Size</i>
1 (General Satisfaction)	— .37
2 (Freedom of Expression)	— .59
3 (Content Coverage)	— .47

All of these correlations are significant at the .05 level, and both the second and third are significant at the .01 level.

From this one may simply conclude that student satisfaction decreased as the size of the group increased. This is true no matter what criterion of student satisfaction is used.

Instructor Satisfaction. It will be recalled that instructors also filled out questionnaires to indicate their degree of satisfaction with their groups. Product-moment correlations between group size and criteria of instructor satisfaction were as follows:

<i>Criterion of Instructor Satisfaction</i>	<i>Correlation with Group Size</i>
1 (General Satisfaction)	— .21
2 (Freedom of Expression)	— .21
3 (Content Coverage)	+ .18

None of these correlations is statistically significant; however, this in itself is important when we remember that *all* the correlations with student satisfaction were significant. Evidently the size of group was much more important to the students (even though they may not have been aware of it as a factor in their satisfaction) than to their instructors. In fact, according to the third criterion of content coverage ("How satisfied are you that this group has adequately dealt with the main points in each week's readings?"), there was actually a slight tendency for *larger* groups to be rated higher by their instructors than were smaller groups.

Academic Achievement. Granted that the size of group may have an effect upon student satisfaction, the question remains concerning the relationship between size of discussion group and academic suc-

⁸ A preliminary report which gives detailed results for each size of group and for each question may be obtained upon request to the Western Civilization Program, University of Kansas, Lawrence.

cess. Do students in the smaller groups learn more? Data on this question are not as adequate as might be desired, but that which is available favors a positive answer. The central piece of evidence in this regard is that there was a correlation of $-.46$ between the semester grade average of a group and its size. This is statistically significant at the .01 level. That this cannot be due to a failure to achieve a random distribution of original ability is indicated by the low positive correlation of .03 between group size and the A. C. E. average of groups.

However, it is unlikely that so large a correlation as $-.46$ could reflect directly differences in the degree of academic success of persons in groups of different sizes. Even though there was no very marked tendency for instructors to be more satisfied with smaller groups, they still may have unconsciously graded their smaller groups more generously. This could conceivably be the case if an instructor's semester grade (which is based largely on discussion) happened to be based in large part upon the *amount* of discussion which an instructor could observe from a particular student—for larger groups obviously allow less time for participation for each student.

Quite possibly the high correlation between group size and semester grade average is partly to be explained on the basis of such considerations and in part the result of greater real achievement which the smaller groups were better able to stimulate. In this respect it is worth noting that the correlation between essay hour exam grades taken after six weeks and group size was $-.23$. This is in the direction of showing better results for the smaller groups, although this correlation is not statistically significant at the .05 level. Although one hopes that the final semester grade better reflects real achievement than grades for the essay hour exam, the latter criterion does have the advantage of being free from the influence of the amount of participation which an individual may show in group discussions.

DISCUSSION

It must be made clear that all the above results are based on the group as the unit of analysis. Thus all correlations are between group size and various measures representing the group as a whole. Because of this these results can be important only in showing the presence and direction of a relationship. The results are not in a form allowing direct prediction for individual persons.

The outstanding finding was the consistency with which students in smaller groups showed greater satisfaction. This suggests that the smaller the group, the greater will be the satisfaction—although there

is no evidence concerning groups with less than four students. This finding was something of a surprise in that the department had been operating under the untested assumption that groups of 5-7 were of optimum size. Even among instructors of the experimental groups there was a tendency to consider such a middle-sized group as preferable to either a group of four or of ten students.

But the finding of greater student satisfaction with smaller groups needs to be qualified in several ways in making generalizations which would be applicable to other educational settings. Of first importance is that "Western Civ" is presented to students at Kansas as a program in which they are placed on their own responsibility. It is emphasized that the student should search for his own answers to the issues presented by the modern world. With this presented as a large part of the purpose of the course, it is perhaps not surprising that the more informal classroom setting (such as the smaller discussion groups) may be evaluated by students as more successful. Also, students have come to associate the course with a rather informal discussion setting. Thus there may be expectations in the student culture as well as educational objectives of the faculty which combine to make this Kansas course in general education considered more successful by students when placed in smaller discussion groups.⁹ It is quite possible that most courses in a university setting would not fit into the same pattern—especially courses with a more technical orientation to subject matter.

The results favoring the smaller size of discussion group lead to further implications concerning studies of the success of the discussion method of teaching. Most studies comparing discussion and other methods have reported rather inconclusive results—indeed, in the classic Michigan psychology experiment there was slightly higher achievement with the recitation-drill method.¹⁰ However, most such

⁹ It is here of interest to note the following observation: "It is in this area of expectations that differences between colleges are important. For example, students at Brooklyn College rate large classes as favorably as small classes, while students at Grinnell College rate instructors less favorably in classes over 30. I would interpret this as being due to differences in student expectations." Wilbert J. McKeachie, "Students, Groups and Teaching Methods," *American Psychologist* (1958), 13:583.

¹⁰ For a summary of such studies see Philip E. Jacob, *Changing Values in College: An Exploratory Study of the Impact of College Teaching* (New York, Harper and Bros., 1957), especially pp. 92-95. For the Michigan study see Harold Guetzkow, E. Lowell Kelly and Wilbert J. McKeachie, "An Experimental Comparison of Recitation, Discussion and Tutorial Methods of College Teaching," *Journal of Educational Psychology* (1954), 45:193-207.

comparisons of discussion and other methods have used discussion classes considerably larger than those of the present study—such as classes of 25-35 in the Michigan study. From the present study it appears quite likely that a very small class would be necessary to show the greatest possibilities of the discussion method in such comparisons.

Finally, a few comments are warranted by the rather surprising difference between student measures and instructor measures of satisfaction for groups of different sizes. Perhaps this, and especially the divergence concerning satisfaction with "content coverage," may be explained as follows: The larger groups are more likely to include several good students than are the smaller groups. Thus in the larger groups the instructor, while he may note that some of the students participate very little, is more apt to be satisfied with the level of discussion of those who do participate. Meanwhile, the average student is apt to be much more aware in these groups of instances in which he is not able to get from, or give to, the discussion what he would like. This must be seen as evidence for the idea that an instructor is not always the best judge of the conditions under which students may be best stimulated educationally. At any rate, sometimes the students may have quite another perspective.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Thirty-two academic discussion groups were varied in sizes from four to ten students to measure the effects of group size upon student satisfaction, instructor satisfaction and student achievement.

The most significant finding was the surprisingly consistent inverse relationship between group size and student satisfaction. Students claim greater satisfaction in the smaller groups.

A second important result was the difference between the perspective of instructors and those of students. Instructors are more inclined than students to show satisfaction with larger groups.

There was limited evidence that smaller groups also showed slightly higher academic achievement than did larger groups.

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TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SMALL DEPARTMENT

Joseph S. Himes

I. THE DEPARTMENTAL SITUATION

Any consideration of the problems and possibilities of stimulating sociological research must begin by recognizing that professionals may define their roles in different terms. For some the major task of the sociologist may be seen as imparting knowledge. Others, however, may define the central obligation as the creation of knowledge. The small department produces something of a dilemma for the sociologist who defines his basic professional role in the latter terms. Failure to engage in research is only one dimension of this dilemma. Others are suggested by indifference to the professional associations and their meetings, lack of involvement in the activities and opportunities of the profession, and the general isolation and stagnation that may characterize his academic situation. Anyone who has served on the membership committees of the American Sociological Association or of one of the regional societies may have gained some appreciation of this dilemma.

Before attacking the problem of stimulation and rewards of research, we may find it useful to consider briefly the situation of the sociologist in the small department. If not the only teacher, he is likely to be one member of a sociological duo or trio in a small college located in a small community. The educational philosophy and academic policy of his institution are likely to stress teaching and teacher training, not research, as major objectives. There may consequently be little disposition to provide time, funds, facilities, or assistance for research. Further, the institution may not have a graduate program, hence even this official gesture in the direction of research may be lacking. The institutional program may prescribe a heavy teaching load (fifteen hours per semester not being infrequent) and a plethora of committee and administrative assignments. If under such towering difficulties, the sociologist in the small department manages to conduct and publish research, he may receive no academic recognition for his efforts. Indeed, in extreme instances, he may incur the disfavor of colleagues or superiors.

The associations as operating agencies of the profession have given some recognition to this dilemma and have taken some steps to release the unutilized professional talent. One approach is the device of the "contributed paper" in the annual meeting programs of the American

Sociological Association. The annual inventories of research in progress and the seminars or institutes on research and methodology represent other efforts in this direction. The present program with its focus on stimulating research constitutes further testimony of professional concern over the dilemma of the sociologist in the limiting situation. Somehow also, a device needs to be invented that will help the sociologist in the isolated situation to feel that he is a significant part of the business and control of the growing professional bureaucracies.

II. STIMULI AND REWARDS OF RESEARCH

In view of the foregoing considerations, it may be asked: how can the sociologist in the small department be stimulated to engage in scholarship and research? What meaningful rewards does the pursuit of investigation under such arduous conditions offer this professional colleague? Stated in the larger perspective, how can the profession get the hundreds, perhaps thousands of sociologists now languishing in unstimulating situations actively into the business of adding to the fund of sociological knowledge?

On the face of it, career aspiration, scientific curiosity, the desire for tangible immortality, professional commitment and the other familiar motivations are evidently not sufficient. The situation of the small department seems to be subtly soporific and debilitating. The sociologist's drive is not only drained by extraneous burdens; his isolation distorts his view of himself and his profession. His situation limits the size of his aspirations and the nature of his goals, and tends to alter his professional self image.

It is just at this point that the contributed paper, the published abstracts, and the chance of publication in the *Review* become functional and stimulating. They suggest that everybody, even the beginner in the profession and the lonely little fellow in the small situation, has a chance to be seen and heard and to gain professional recognition.

It seems to me, however, that both stimulus and reward for research inhere in the very situation of the teacher in the small department. If this program session and if the contents of the journals have any portent, then the business, or at least the main portion of the business of professional sociology is research. And if the sociologist in the small department is to discharge his stated function of teaching sociology, then conducting and teaching sociological research are his main business. However limiting, burdensome, and discouraging his situation may appear, he has an obligation to his teaching and to his students.

Moreover, if his students are going to pursue careers in sociology,

or indeed if they just hope to understand modern sociology, then they need vital experiences in research. Increasingly the meaning of sociology is defined in terms of methodology and research skills. Increasingly also, the additions to the fund of accumulating sociological knowledge are stated in terms of the tentative findings of research and the leads to further research. This teacher's students will be called upon to know research, to utilize the products of research, and to prosecute research if they expect to fashion careers in the field of sociology.

III. IMPLEMENTING RESEARCH IN THE SMALL DEPARTMENT

The sociologist in the small department can find the problems for research in the content of his teaching. The generalizations presented in the textbooks and the findings reported in the journals may be viewed, and properly so, as hypotheses awaiting further testing. Courses of study, or parts of them, may be organized as research designs to examine and test some of the hypotheses that might otherwise be accepted at face value. From the point of view of research, such an approach to teaching need not be trivial, for it will engage the sociologist and his students in the scientific analysis and testing of the basic propositions of the discipline. Their findings may very well make some substantial contributions to accumulating knowledge in the field.

A suggestion or two may be in order at this point. The study of groups provides an occasion to introduce students to the rich literature of research on small groups and large-scale organizations. This literature is replete with propositions that can be researched by experiments and investigations that are operable within the limitations of the small department. Or again, a newsworthy event in the local community—a strike, an episode of crowd behavior, concentration on juvenile delinquency or illegitimacy—may provide the taking-off point for a research experience. Edward A. Suchman and others have outlined some of the "research suggestions" that are created by the process of racial desegregation, particularly in the Southern Region.¹ In addition, the journals contain a number of analytical summaries of research, together with hypotheses and proposals for needed research, in such areas as community, family, and small groups.

Focus upon research of a concrete problem constitutes an admirable way of conveying the idea that sociology as a branch of science is to

¹ Edward A. Suchman, John P. Dean, Robin M. Williams, Jr., et al., *Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions*, New York, Anti-Defamation League, 1958.

be conceptualized as method. This fact is often difficult to communicate meaningfully to students whose major experience with the field consists of the study of neat textbooks or the perusal of equally neat journal articles. The motivational values for the students, as anyone who has had the experience can testify, are virtually unlimited.

Let me illustrate how the combination of teaching and research in the small department might work out by sketching three experiences that came to my attention recently. Two male students, both veterans, mentioned in the introductory course that the natives in the countries where they had been stationed seemed to lack ambition and to object to constructive work. This comment provoked a lively class discussion. In the course of the discussion it was pointed out that middle-class and lower-class people in the United States also seem to react differently to "work." With some encouragement from the professor the two men decided to find out about this matter. They searched the literature of social stratification and class correlates. A series of testable hypotheses was deduced and operationalized to form the items of an interview instrument. Appropriate samples of middle-class and lower-class individuals were drawn from the community and the interview findings were written up and reported to the class before the end of the semester.

In the marriage class a junior woman was challenged one day when she asserted that a young couple could solve their marital difficulties by having a baby. The notion appeared to be widespread, but there was considerable doubt regarding its validity. The professor encouraged the young woman to find out about this belief. The project involved two related steps. First, it was necessary to formulate the popular belief into testable hypotheses and then operationalize these to form test items for interview use. Second, it was necessary to search the literature on success in marriage and the correlates of success. For her sample the student used half the adult population of a small community where she often spent weekends with relatives. Before the end of the semester she could report her findings to the class. She concluded that this experience supported the need for marriage and family education and suggested some of the areas of emphasis.

Just one more illustration. The members of a social problems class were impressed with the variations of attitudes toward illness. The professor and five students decided to find out whether custom dictated differential responses toward patients in general, tuberculosis, and mental hospitals. The procedure was similar to that sketched above, except the subjects were drawn from the student body and

faculty of the college. This team was fortunate since they had access to a small sociology laboratory with work space, a small library, and a few tools. The project has extended longer than one semester and so has drawn additional students into the experience.

Once he becomes involved in the fusion of research and teaching, the sociologist in the small department may find that there is considerable interest, recognition, and support for his efforts. In the fields of industrial, political, medical and religious sociology may be found many significant problems that can be researched in the small department and that may at the same time be of interest to local organizations or national foundations. Chambers of commerce, human relations organizations, merchants associations, united funds, councils of social agencies, and local business, religious, and labor organizations will be found to be interested in a wide range of possible studies. Some national foundations and agencies have a continuing concern with the quality of teaching and may therefore be very interested in the fusion of teaching and research in the situation of the small department.

In conclusion, the instrumenting of teaching by research, as I have suggested, may provide one way of overcoming or circumventing the dilemma of the sociologist in the small department. He involves himself in the major business of the profession without any substantial addition to his already heavy academic burden. The novelty of research may stir his students out of their accustomed lethargy and thus make both teaching and learning an exciting, and so less onerous chore. In his students the sociologist finds the assistants that his institution cannot or will not afford. The sociologist may also find that he has unanticipated support in community agencies and national foundations which, among other things, can provide the funds that are so sorely needed for research. The whole experience can have salutary psychic and professional consequences for the sociologist, lifting him out of his situation that he regarded as stultifying or intolerable.

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THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY IN SOCIAL STUDIES*

Dan W. Dodson

There are two philosophies of education vying for the attention of school people today. The first is a philosophy which says here is a body of skills and knowledge which children should know. It is the function of the school to inculcate them in children in such fashion that they will be transmuted from whatever they are into citizens who will embody in their characters the ideals, myths, and loyalties of the dominant society. If there are those whose backgrounds are deviant from this body of common culture they shall have their deviancy removed by the teaching. All children shall be evaluated in their growth and development by the extent to which they have "learned" this body of material.

This school of thought has great concern about what is taught in social studies, for the "right" ideas about history, about economics, and indeed about the heritage in general, is crucial. The assumption underlying its emphasis is that if the right words are put together and taught in units constructed by the right proportions of "material" on the one hand and "psychological finesse" on the other (i.e., that words are not too hard at a given maturation level) that growth in citizenship occurs.

This type of education seeks to produce citizenship growth by making people erudite. It attempts a logical organization of knowledge which seeks to help the child determine the theories, insights and principles which govern life before the person has ever become acquainted with the problems with which such organized knowledge deals. Interestingly enough these become called the "academic subjects," and by this epithet there is a growing tendency to mean that they are of little functional use to the individual. Often the materials are beyond the range of comprehension of the individual and become *non-sense* to him.

This approach to knowledge is relatively sterile insofar as vital citizenship is concerned. It cannot be counted upon as an instrument of change to do anything more than produce a "cultured man" by which we mean culture with a capital C or in other words a "learned" man. The inability of our nation with its vast programs of assistance to close the gap between the underdeveloped countries and those of

* An address delivered at a conference on Teaching Social Studies, Montclair State College, Montclair, N. J.

advanced technology is testimony to the sterility of such erudition as erudition.

In contrast to this type of educational philosophy is that of education as an instrument of social control. Its function is not simply to transmit a body of skills and knowledges, but is rather that of building a type of citizenship which becomes increasingly aware of the problems of the society and is moving continuously toward its planned alteration. Such education evaluates program on the basis of how much impact it has had on the society through developing people who know how to handle themselves with regard to their own interests with increasing skill.

Such education uses the community as the child's "port of entry" to knowledge. It seeks to find the issues of life as it is being lived and involve students (whether young or old) in the study of them. From such beginnings students are led functionally to examine the books, the sacred documents, as well as the local resources to find background and the judgment of the heritage about the issues.

Behavior tends, then, to stem from understanding of the issues, rather than from subscription to statements and principles inculcated as dogmas. Principles and doctrines thus discovered are functional and integrative of citizenship. Loyalty to them is the result of their being examined, tested, and adapted as one's own. They are then the fountain head of virile citizenship. In this frame of reference the student discovers the ground on which he stands and from this vantage point reaches out to the cosmos. The alternative is to try to understand the cosmos and then determine where one's own local world fits into it.

The methodological problem is to determine how to make the local social world fit into the social studies curriculum. As I have worked in suburban communities and inner city neighborhoods of the metropolis I have been impressed with the fact that one could see many differences in curriculum because the ideologies of the educators were different, but it is indeed difficult to see differences in program because the communities in which the schools are located are different.

I would like to pose for you six crucial issues which have been created by the social changes in local community since the war, and ask what impact, if any, they have upon our programs. They are all issues which stem from the growing dominance of suburbanism as a way of life. The suburban value system, in my judgment has come to dominate America in this interim.

BACKGROUND

In order to understand the context in which I shall discuss these problems let me describe what has happened to America in these last ten years. America has outgrown her cities. The census had to resort to Standard Metropolitan Areas as a means of designating the vast agglomeration of populations around these urban centers in the last census. In 1950 the 168 such areas (i.e., cities of 50,000 population or more and their suburbs) held 54 per cent of the American people. By 1955 these areas had grown by 12,000,000. However the growth was selective. These inner cities themselves grew by only 2,400,000 and their suburbs by some 9,600,000. Nor was this just adding a ring around the city. It was a complete reorganization of the metropolis. The pattern can best be described by using New York as an example. Between 1950 and 1957 New York City lost a middle class white population about the size of Washington, D.C., and gained an ethnically identifiable Negro and Puerto Rican population of low socio-economic status about the size of Pittsburgh, Penna. These whites who went to the suburbs moved into developments which were homogeneous, and large enough to be self-contained. The most dramatic ones are the Levittowns of New York and Pennsylvania, but they are different in degree, not in kind to all the others. We studied the one on Long Island. In 1947 the school district we studied had 36 children in two classrooms in six and one-half miles of potato fields. In 1954 they had 15,000 homes, 45,000 people, 12,500 children in school and more preschool children than scholastics in school. They were all young beginning families, all about of the same socio-economic status, and not a single family among them which the census would have called non-white. In 1955 we studied the neighborhood next to it, Bethpage. Here were the split level homes of higher cost. Here were concentrated the families at the middle stages of their development. Here one needed much more secondary school facility, whilst in Levittown one needed proportionately more elementary school facility.

In New Jersey the same phenomena exists. Communities are determined by the types of houses the builders erect. But whatever they are, they are big enough communities to be relatively self-contained, and are notoriously noticeable as to the type of socio-economic levels which occupy them. I have said without fear of successful contradiction that this past decade has seen the greatest stratification of American life of any period of American history.

Crucial issue number one:

What is the role of education in serving children who are increasingly segregated by race, creed, and socio-economic status from each

other in residential living. If education is to prepare our children to make decisions affecting the world, how can they be prepared so to do when they have such little opportunity to understand people who are different to themselves in their own cities? In the inner cities, and in the small towns of yesteryear the poor lived close enough to the better off that they shared many of the communal institutions. Today, however, the boy from across the tracks is in all likelihood living segregated off in the slums of the city, frequently in a public housing project, and left to his own devices. Neither he, nor his counterpart in the better off groups has a chance to associate with the other.

Crucial issue number two:

How shall education deal with the social class orientation of suburban value structures? Suburbia is middle class. It is upwardly mobile. It serves a god who lives next door whose name is Jones. Whatever else happens he must be kept up with. Appearances are important for status' sake and become an end in themselves. Upward mobility becomes an insatiable maw which can never be filled with accomplishments. As soon as the house is paid for and an air conditioner installed it is no longer good enough. A new and bigger house must be bought to show off the new-found status. Automobile manufacturers tried to their sorrow to make automobiles for the modest income man which would rival those of the upper income peoples. Soon the costly cars and the less costly ones became so indistinguishable that one had to buy a foreign car in order to be different. Today, whether you need a station wagon or not, if you are a hep suburbanite you will buy a small foreign car, whether the whole family can get into it or not. The impact of this type pressure upon children is awesome. They are under pressure to make good grades, not so much because they are academically curious, but because they must show the family to a good advantage.

Another dimension of the pressure is reflected in the anxiety of youths to get into the right colleges. It is not uncommon that they come out for student activities not because they are interested in the program, but because it will look good on their record when they apply to college. This study to make grades rather than because of intellectual curiosity, and activity for record's sake rather than for interest's sake has its repercussions in many kinds of hostilities. One of the outstanding ones is that there is frequently an anti-intellectual climate on the high school campus which deters learning far more than the limitations of poor teaching. One who persists in studying

becomes an Einstein, a square or an egg-head. Youths know and understand that these types of values are phony, and realize that they and their parents are often playing "make-believe." They are too conformist, however, to protest.

Crucial question number three:

How shall education deal with the growing conformity which stems from homogeneous suburban living? One of the most outstanding aspects of this type of change in neighborhood living is the trend toward conformity. How can children be different when they are reared in socio-economic ghettos which never allow them to contact differences until after they are old enough to venture beyond the pale. In the inner cities peoples attended the museums, the theatre, and the other cultural centers. As life becomes cozy in the suburb the tendency is to shop at suburban shopping centers and preoccupy one's self with things of local concern. The advantages of the excitement and the creative surge of the inner city are lost. The contacts with the inner city cultural strands become tenuous. Television brings standardized amusement and information.

Last spring several of the national youth agencies brought together a group of these products of their activities for a session in New York. I had a chance to work with them for several days. Before they were through one of the women involved cried as she said "These are nice young people. They are not responsible for what they are. When we are through we had better do some soul searching to determine what it is we can do to make them less conforming." They had no problems. They were not concerned with any of the major issues of the world. They said in a sophisticated way these were things they could do nothing about. They were interested in how to manipulate other people, whether they were their peers or their parents. They were well on their way to becoming good grey flannel suit people. Twenty-five years ago Tom Minnehan did a study which found a million and a half youths on the move. Living in jungle camps, riding the rods of the freights, and undergoing the disorganization attendant upon such a type of life. Their cohorts, however, who were in my classes were wrestling with the problems of the world. Each class session was likely to be a real hassle between the liberals and the conservatives. Youth was in ferment. Not so today. The voice of youth which has ever been the voice of protest against the woes of the world is today still. There is no protest either from the high schools or the campuses of the colleges. Suburbia as a way of life has made them conformists.

Crucial question number four:

How shall education deal with the growing amount of outer direction which seems to dominate suburban culture. Reisman has described the phenomenon. His reasons for its occurrence are not valid in my information. Whyte has said it in another way in his *Organization Man*. In my humble judgment we are losing inner direction and becoming outer directed neither because of the change in the composition of the population as Reisman contends, not because of the loss of the Protestant ethic in our culture as Whyte suggests. In my judgment we are losing it because our society is developing suburbia in such a fashion that people are being herded together in such ways that they are dominated by their peer groups. Let me be specific. Levittown, New York, which I mentioned before will in 1963, if the projections holds out, have over 10,000 teen agers in those six and one-half miles of land. They have no grandparents around, and rarely do they have uncles and aunts. The community has no thread of historic continuity and there is little of family history which is passed from one generation to the next.

A study of one of your neighborhoods near here indicated that for one religious group 32 per cent of the parishioners said they joined because their friends went there. 28 per cent said they joined for the children's sake. Only 22 per cent said they joined for religious or spiritual reasons.

There is much data to show that what they meant by the statement "For the children's sake" was that when the children reached adolescence there was so little activity in the community which cut across faith lines that they were forced to get under the religious umbrella in order for their children to rate. They were dominated in their behavior by their peer groups.

Question number five:

How shall education deal with the power fights which communities go through as the newcomers challenge the status groups already ensconced. Every community with a history has a status ordering among its citizens. Some are at the apex of the power structure of the community. When there is rapid in-migration the old timers are reluctant to provide community facilities for the newcomer's children. The basis of the fight will be different in almost every community, but the pattern of the fight is about the same. In my home town, Yonkers, New York, the fight was over the schools. In Ossining, New York, it is a religious fight over whether there should be a creche on the high school lawn at Christmas time. In many of your

communities it is a fight as to whether religious groups who observe days of worship other than Sunday shall be allowed to keep their stores open. In another town it is over the community chest drive. How does a social studies teacher make use of these conflicts in the teaching of his materials? Is it possible that he might be an interpreter of the processes through which people are going?

Question number six:

What does the social studies teacher do about suburban values? Every one is harping about the schools teaching moral and spiritual values. The churches are running over with people as never before. Religious education programs are at an all time high. Released time is growing in its attraction. Still this is not enough. There are those elements in our communities who want the schools to assume the position that moral and spiritual values can only be taught through a recognition of their relation to deity, hence the schools must teach religion as a basis for teaching values.

In spite of all this return to the church there is not much indication that it represents a return to the Lord. In fact a good case could be made that the church is today popular precisely because it is the last institution in the community in which people can segregate themselves from each other respectably. If the schools could successfully inculcate the moral and spiritual values which lie at the heart of the religious systems which dominate our suburban communities they would make schizophrenics out of the children.

Aside from this problem, however, is the equally important one of what are the values we prize? High on such a list would undoubtedly stand our treasuring of "things" as that from which we derive greatest satisfactions. America has a mighty technology. With one-seventh of the world's population and one-eighth of her land area we consume more than 54 per cent of the world's manufactured goods. We consume more goods—the 170,000,000 or us—than do the 600,000,000 people of Europe and Russia or the billion peoples of Asia. We have literally demonstrated that we can eliminate want—man's oldest foe—from the face of the earth. In this era of most rapid growth, however, we have lost the allegiance to our way of life of approximately half the peoples of the world. Why?

The post-war movement to suburbia has provided a way of life which has long been the dream of Americans. The love nest in the country, grass under one's feet, lots of children, an automobile, lawn mower, and if near water a boat which can be hauled around on a trailer, these are dreams of middle class opulence. Today that dream

is being shattered. Sputnik I rudely jarred us and we awoke to find that one can't be preoccupied with *things*, and at the same time concentrate much on ideas. One can't be concerned with whether the tail fins are as long on the automobile, whether the lawn is as green, whether the garage is painted, and the other chores of husbandry and at the same time be concerned too much with ideas. He can't live sealed off in opulence today and be very concerned about problems of the world.

Perhaps the greatest indictment of suburbanism is that with all the coziness we find in neighborhoods of people who are just like us, all the emphasis on group we have had in the past two decades, all the mass media for communicating with each other, all the return to the churches and their bulge with activities, with all these, the theologians are today joining the psychologists and sociologists in trying to fathom the growing sense of alienation which man feels in his innermost psyche. Perhaps this is the greatest challenge of all as we reassess the role of our schools in these changed patterns of community life.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Chronically Ill, by Dr. Joseph Fox. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc. 1957.

This book provides a concise and authoritative treatment of the complex problem of chronic illness, considered by medical and sociological leaders as the foremost current public health problem facing the nation.

Whether interested as a seeker of new understanding or as an expert delving for the finer points of knowledge, any member of the professions directly or indirectly concerned with the chronically ill, particularly those interested in public health, hospital administration, social work, education and other social sciences, will find a well documented treatise of the important aspects of the problem.

The reader will find not only a vast fund of facts about chronic illness, resulting from exhaustive study and written in concise form, but also a keen insight into the psychology of the patient, his relatives, those who treat and try to rehabilitate him, and the public and its social institutions. The book contains, in logical sequence, a clear statement of the problem, an acceptable definition of the many diseases included in the term, "The Chronically Ill," a sociological analysis of the effects of chronic illness, the social distinctions in attitude to long term chronic illness and short term acute disease, the challenge of rehabilitation, and promising medical and institutional planning and administration to meet the problem, including a thorough analysis of the home care program.

There is inspiration and hope in this book, as well as a practical glossary of necessary medical terms and a scholarly bibliography. It contains a complete panorama for those seeking a general knowledge and, at the same time, there are new and original ideas to help the expert in the field to further sharpen his perceptions, particularly from the sociological point of view.

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The Psychology of Careers, by Donald E. Super. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. 362 pp.

This book is a welcome addition to the literature concerning the study of vocations, their development, and the bases in making vocational choices. The author, well-known in the field of guidance,

counselling, and psychology, has brought into focus the insight gained from the experience of social scientists and psychologists in solving the problems of vocational adjustment, choice of jobs, and adjustment to work.

Part 1, of four parts, considers why people work, reviews the place of work in daily living, presents a survey of the varieties of work as well as differences in occupations, and discusses the place of work in the life span. Parts 2 and 3 are detailed elaborations that present the course and cycle of the working life, the dynamics of vocational development together with those factors which determine success and satisfaction in the world of work. Included among such factors are aptitudes, interests, personality, family, economic changes, disabilities along with sociological and psychological concepts of chance. An attempt is made in part 4 to synthesize the material, first for theory, and second, for practical application. Succinct coverage is made of chapters on vocational and general adjustment in addition to methods and techniques of vocational psychology and guidance.

Copious references to research, case studies, along with extensive lists of recommended reading and a bibliography provide well-chosen supplementary materials. Thus the author has presented an informative and comprehensive book for parents and for professionals who are concerned with vocational development and counselling.

Irving Ratchick
Book Review Editor

American Culture, by Saxon Graham. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957. pp. 557.

"Culture vs Civilization: Or Science vs Sociology"

In what way does culture differ from civilization? culture, as all the achievements of man (from untestable hypotheses to lighting a fire) distinguished from civilization, that is, a *distinctive* organization of social institutions that regulate the lives of a number of individuals. The problem of the place of the nation state will rear its ugly head here, too. And then, what is the difference between *American Culture and America as a Civilization*?¹

As I began reading this text by Saxon Graham, my thoughts turned to the picture window in the living room of many American homes. I envisioned a tremendous concussion shattering the glass. Given these possible circumstances, questions of culture and civilization are not academic questions at all. Irritate a Khrushchev, upset

¹ See Max Lerner's *America as a Civilization* for work on this distinction.

a nation, risk any means in the gamble for world power and we remove all human achievement. All culture and civilization can disappear and questioning as a distinctive enterprise of the human intellect may never reappear from the ashes. Even the ashes will be meaningless and refer to nothing. The ashes will not represent culture or civilization because no mind will be present to make the connection.

A major quarrel with the author of this text and with many other sociologists is that they do not make clear what they are defending. Science, for example, is used as a "straw man" to "objectify" some of the preferences of sociologists. Science as a system of "strategies and tactics" is used on problems that "occur" to sociologists. Science as "strategy and tactic" is not employed on all problems but merely on selected problems. The basis of the selection is not made clear and the standards of selection are not clarified. The method of science is not the matrix of the sociologist's inquiry at all. What are they sociologizing for? When the sociologists turn their attention to this problem, they will become singularly more objective and therefore more honest in their contributions to knowledge. For example, Saxon Graham begins his book with the purpose of instilling "attitudes, habits of thought, and a method of approaching questions in the social realm which the reader can apply to the problems, new and old, which confront him in his life as a social being." (pp. 2-3) And no where in the rest of the volume does he indicate why this "method," or these strategies and tactics, should be chosen by the reader. Why choose a scientific analysis of life in America, Mr. Graham? Why choose this method Mr. Graham if you "... are not interested in changing conditions . . . ," and if you "... will leave the choices as to what to do about the future up to the philosopher . . . ?" (p. 23)

Elmer Davis is clear and straightforward when he indicates that the method of science is the only thing worth saving in all of Western Civilization. Elmer Davis is clear about his purpose. What is the purpose of sociological inquiry? What is the purpose of Mr. Graham's volume entitled *American Culture*? Why is Mr. Graham willing to leave significant choices to the philosopher?

The *Ashes of Culture* can only acquire significance as some new upright creature acquires the ability to create symbols that will stand for the ashes of culture to other upright creatures. And these upright creatures must be deliberate about what they will use this connection for. So! $x \times S = \text{ashes}$. But until science or another method of assessing symbolization appears or reappears, there will again be

nothing worth saving. Sociologists should be confronting the problems of symbolization and the values they wish to protect. This far too large a task to leave to the philosopher alone. In other words, sociologists should be confronting the problems of the method of science in order to be deliberate about their sociologizing. Philosophy and philosophizing about methods of symbolization will help the sociologists become deliberate and the philosophy of science will help them know what they are doing.

All humor aside, may one scholar appeal to other scholars to attend to their methods of analysis and to the reasons why analysis of any kind is significant or relevant to the human future.

No one can quarrel with the topical headings that serve as chapters for the volume:

Chapter I The Scientific Analysis of Life in America 24

Chapter VII The Beliefs and Values of the American People

Chapter XV The Struggle for Political Power

Chapter XXII The Changing Society

And everyone should quarrel with the following conclusions:

"Our economic interest is probably the most vital concern men will ever have."

"In part because of the importance of the reproductive function which man possesses, the study of the family has grown to impressive proportions as a special field within the discipline of sociology." (p. 18)

"Most important, however, is the fact that the socialization of medicine is aberrant to the American ethic of free enterprise. . . . Socialized medicine is at odds with the business culture which dominates America, and it is likely, therefore, that Americans in most walks of life, not merely those in medicine, would reject it." (p. 472)

Good subject matters and debatable conclusions all, but they could become more meaningful if the method of science was taken seriously.

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